

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 07191 271645Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 7191

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: DRAFT STATEMENT FOR NAC CONSULTATIONS -
DECEMBER 3

THERE FOLLOWS A DRAFT OF AMBASSADOR SHERER'S STATEMENT FOR
DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW AND APPROVAL.

BEGIN TEXT: MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO
MEET WITH YOU HERE IN BRUSSELS, AND I WOULD LIKE TO JOIN
MY COLLEAGUES FROM GENEVA IN EXPRESSING TO YOU, AND TO
THE COUNCIL, OUR CONTINUING APPRECIATION FOR THE INTEREST
WHICH YOU HAVE ALWAYS SHOWN IN CSCE. OUR MEETING TODAY
SHOULD BE SEEN, I THINK, AS PART OF THE BROADER DISCUSSION
WITHIN THE ALLIANCE ON THE EVOLUTION OF DETENTE AS A WHOLE.
AS SUCH WE HOPE IT WILL HELP TO PREPARE FOR A USEFUL
EXCHANGE AMONG MINISTERS NEXT WEEK. IN PREPARING MY OWN
REMARKS, I HAVE TRIED TO BEAR THIS IN MIND. SO I WILL
NOT ATTEMPT HERE AN ITEM-BY-ITEM REVIEW OF THE STATE OF
PLAY IN GENEVA, BUT WILL DIRECT MY REMARKS TO THOSE
ISSUES THAT SEEM TO MERIT OUR PARTICULAR ATTENTION.

IN REVIEWING THE SITUATION IN GENEVA AT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07191 271645Z

THIS TIME, I THINK WE ALL FEEL THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS

IS POSSIBLE, AND THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT EXPRESSES THIS POSSIBILITY. OF COURSE, THE PREREQUISITE TO PROGRESS IN STAGE II WILL REMAIN SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE ON ISSUES ALL THE ALLIES CONSIDER IMPORTANT--MAINLY, BASKET III, SOME IMPORTANT PENDING PROBLEMS IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, AND MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, MUCH WILL ALSO DEPEND ON US. OUR ABILITY TO BRING THE SOVIETS TOWARD MORE REASONABLE POSITIONS WILL DEPEND, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, NOT ONLY ON OUR SOLIDARITY, BUT ALSO ON OUR CAPACITY TO MOVE TOGETHER AND TO ADAPT TO AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE EVOLVING NEGOTIATING SITUATION. THE RATHER INFORMAL AND UNSTRUCTURED WORKING METHODS WHICH WE ARE OBLIGED TO USE IN GENEVA AT THE PRESENT TIME, PARTICULARLY IN BASKET III, MAKE A COHERENT WESTERN POSITION ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO CONVEY TO OUR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS A CLEAR PICTURE OF WHAT WE WANT. WE WILL NEED TO COORDINATE OUR POSITIONS VERY CAREFULLY AND AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND THE UNNECESSARY RANCOUR THEY SOMETIMES PROVOKE.

BASKET III OF COURSE REMAINS THE KEY BOTH TO THE PACE OF WORK IN GENEVA AND TO A FINAL OUTCOME THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL FIND ACCEPTABLE. WHILE OPTIMISM HERE IS RISKY, WE DO BELIEVE THERE HAS BEEN SOME CHANGE IN THE SOVIET ATTITUDE IN RECENT WEEKS. THEY HAVE NOT, OF COURSE, CONCEDED ANY IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE POINTS, BUT THEY DO APPEAR READY TO NEGOTIATE AND EVEN ANXIOUS TO MOVE AHEAD. WE NOW THINK IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS, AND WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS SITUATION. SEVERAL SUBJECTS SEEM RIPE FOR SETTLEMENT, AND WE SHOULD ORGANIZE OURSELVES TO MAKE ADJUSTMENTS WHERE NECESSARY AND TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS WHERE WE CAN.

MEANWHILE, WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION INCHES FORWARD. IN OVER THREE MONTHS OF DISCUSSIONS SINCE SEPTEMBER, WE HAVE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ONLY ONE PARAGRAPH, THAT DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS, AND IT TOOK US 56 MEETINGS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS. WE STILL HAVE TO GO THROUGH A FIRST READING OF THREE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 07191 271645Z

MORE PRINCIPLES, AND TO DRAFT THE FINAL CLAUSES AND THE PREAMBULAR PASSAGES, BEFORE WE CAN START THE SECOND READING AND BEGIN CLEARING AWAY THE THICKET OF BRACKETED PASSAGES LEFT BEHIND AFTER THE FIRST READING.

AND I NEED NOT REMIND YOU THAT, IN ADDITION TO SLOGGING FORWARD WITH THIS DIFFICULT DRAFTING EFFORT, WE WILL NEED TO SETTLE SEVERAL CONTENTIOUS SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES: THE LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL

CHANGE AND ITS PLACEMENT; THE FOUR POWER RIGHTS
DISCLAIMER; THE PROBLEM OF RELATING NON-USE OF FORCE
LANGUAGE--BOTH IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND IN
THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL--TO THE UN CHARTER IN SOME
FASHION; AND THE LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE AND THE
INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE PRINCIPLES.

NOW THAT THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF
FORWARD MOVEMENT IN BASKET III, I THINK IT IS TIME
FOR US TO REFLECT ON WAYS OF SPEEDING THE GLACIAL PACE
OF WORK ON PRINCIPLES. MY DELEGATION IS PERSUADED
THAT MORE EFFICIENT WORK METHODS CAN BE PUT INTO
EFFECT WITHOUT ANY RISK TO OUR SUBSTANTIVE INTERESTS.

ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, I HAVE VERY LITTLE
TO SAY. NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS AREA HAVE NOT ADVANCED
VERY FAR SINCE OUR EXPERTS HELD CONSULTATIONS HERE AT
NATO EARLIER THIS AUTUMN. WE SHARE THE GENERAL BELIEF
THAT COMPROMISES ON THESE SUBJECTS WILL BE POSSIBLE,
BUT THAT THEY MAY NOT BEGIN TO FALL INTO PLACE UNTIL
THE END OF STAGE II, WHEN PRESSURES TO CONCLUDE HAVE
BUILT UP.

DISCUSSION OF CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP HAS
ALSO ADVANCED SLOWLY, WHICH IS PROBABLY APPROPRIATE
IN VIEW OF THE SUBJECT MATTER AND THE FACT THAT A
FINAL COMPROMISE ON THIS ISSUE CANNOT BE FORESEEN
UNTIL NEARER THE END OF STAGE II. WE ARE MAINTAINING
OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DANISH PROPOSAL FOR A WAITING
PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS, BUT
WE BELIEVE A COMPROMISE, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE DANISH
PROPOSAL AND THE FINNISH AND YUGOSLAV PROPOSALS FOR
INSTITUTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS, WILL ULTIMATELY
BE NECESSARY. PERHAPS THE GENEVA DELEGATIONS SHOULD
BEGIN TO CONSULT ABOUT WHAT KIND OF COMPROMISE SOLU-
TION MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. SUCH CONSULTATIONS WOULD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 07191 271645Z

HELP US TO CHANNEL DISCUSSIONS IN THE DIRECTION WE
PREFER.

TURNING NOW FROM THE REGULAR AGENDA
ITEMS, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A WORD OR TWO ABOUT ANOTHER
SUBJECT WHICH IS CURRENTLY ON THE TABLE IN GENEVA:
THE MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR A VARIETY OF ACTIONS RELATING
TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND PERSIAN GULF STATES. I AM
SURE THAT EVERYONE HERE WOULD AGREE THAT THIS PROPOSAL
GOES WELL BEYOND THE MANDATE OF CSCE, AND THAT IT
SHOULD BE GRACEFULLY ELIMINATED. HOWEVER, WE ARE
SOMEWHAT CONCERNED BY THE PROBLEM WHICH IT MAY POSE
IF IT REMAINS ON THE TABLE MORE OR LESS INTACT UNTIL
NEAR THE END OF THE STAGE II, SINCE NO ONE CAN
PREDICT WHAT MR. MINTOFF WILL THEN WISH TO DO ABOUT IT.
MORE SUBSTANTIVELY, WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE ROLE IT

IMPLIES FOR NON-PARTICIPATING STATES IN ANY EVENTUAL CSCE FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS. SUCH A ROLE, OF COURSE, IS EXPLICITLY CALLED FOR IN THE NEUTRAL DRAFT OF A MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.

OBVIOUSLY, THE MALTESE PROPOSAL HAS TO BE HANDLED WITH THE UTMOST TACT, BUT WE THINK THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE ALLIES TO AGREE ON SOME POSITIVE COURSE OF ACTION FOR DEALING WITH IT. WE WOULD SUGGEST A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF IDEAS ON THIS MATTER IN GENEVA AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE FURTHER CALENDAR OF CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIETS CLEARLY WANT TO CONCLUDE THE CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IT SEEMS TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE, AT LEAST, TO FINISH THE WORK OF STAGE II BY NEXT SPRING. WE DO NOT PROPOSE THE SETTING OF ARTIFICIAL DEADLINES, BUT WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN DELAY FOR ITS OWN SAKE. WE THEREFORE THINK THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR BRISK AND BUSINESSLIKE NEGOTIATIONS WHEREVER EASTERN ATTITUDES MAKE THIS POSSIBLE, BEARING IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY THAT STAGE II MIGHT BE WOUND UP THIS SPRING. END TEXT.ABRAMS

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